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WECHQUETANK.

A Paper read before the Moravian Historical Society, Sept. 13, 1900.

BY EUGENE LEIBERT.

The site of Wechquetank, which forms the subject of this paper, lies in Monroe County, about six miles north of the Blue Mountain, and only sixteen miles, as the crow flies, north-northwest of Nazareth. It is midway between Stroudsburg on the northeast and Weissport on the southwest, being fifteen miles distant from each, and close by the present village of Gilbert. A few rods to the north of it flows what was formerly called the Pohopoko or Wechquetank Creek, and is now called the Big Creek, or Hoeth's Creek, after Frederic Hoeth, who was one of the first white settlers in that district. The valley drained by Hoeth's Creek, extending all the way to where it falls into the Lehigh, is styled the "Long Valley," and the portion of it immediately surrounding the site of Wechquetank is known as "Pleasant Valley," a title that has been well bestowed, for it presents a view of surpassing rural loveliness as you approach it from the south over the Wire ridge which separates it from the Valley of the Aquanshocola that skirts the northern base of the Kittatinny or Blue Mountain. The name Wechquetank is the Delaware Indian name of a species of willow that grows abundantly along the creek.

The region in which it is situated is of historic interest. It is included in the famous "Walking Purchase" of 1737, by which the Indians claimed that they were shamefully cheated out of a large portion of their best hunting grounds. It was traversed by Zinzendorf when he made his first journey of inspection among the red men, as early as 1742. He set out from Bethlehem on this journey on the 24th of July, accompanied by six brethren and two sisters, one of whom was his daughter Benigna, and an Indian who served as messenger and interpreter. Crossing the Kittatinny mountain a few miles west of the Delaware Water Gap, they reached the extreme northern point of their route on the 27th. This was an Indian village on the Pohopoko Creek, which had been the home of Captain Harris, a noted Delaware chief, and tradition places

the site of this village on the very spot which was afterward known as Wechquetank. Thus as early as 1742 the place was occupied, even if only for one night, by a band of Moravians, with Zinzendorf himself as its leader; and the presence of his daughter Benigna, then only seventeen years of age, gives a romantic flavor to this first mention of the region in the annals of the church.

The old chief Harris who had lived there was the father of six sons, who figure more or less conspicuously in the early history of the Province of Pennsylvania, and of the Moravian Mission among the Indians. They were Teedyuscung, Captain John, young Captain Harris, Tom, Joe and Sam Evans. The first, Teedyuscung, was the noted leader of that portion of the Delawares which took up arms against the English during the French and Indian War, and it was he who planned the campaign against the settlers along the Blue Mountain that was marked by the most hideous cruelty and barbarity. Five years previous to the breaking out of the war he had professed to be touched by the preaching of the Moravian missionaries, and persuaded them to receive him among their converts. And when the war broke out, it was his minions who massacred the mission families at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning, attacking them in the very house in which he had been baptized, and then burning it over the heads of its inmates, living and dead. Some of our historians deal very leniently with the misdeeds of this murderous and unscrupulous renegade—and de Schweinitz in his “Life and Times of Zeisberger,” and notably Reichel in his many references to the chieftain, make, as it appears to this writer, entirely superfluous use of the broad mantle of charity. The latter can find no excuse for the bloodthirsty ingrate who, after witnessing the self-sacrificing devotion of the Brethren in their efforts to do good to the red men, and repeatedly experiencing, in his own person, their kindness and hospitality, and well knowing that they, both individually and collectively, were entirely innocent of any share in the real or fancied wrongs he sought to avenge, included them all in his plans of extermination, sent his warriors to murder their defenceless missionaries and women and children in their isolated farms and settlements, and would, if he could, have destroyed even the villages in the Barony of Nazareth, and Bethlehem itself, but for the palisades that surrounded them, and the armed guards who

watched day and night, and who, in spite of their non-combatant principles, were prepared to shoot any of the murderous crew that might come skulking around their primitive but effective defences. This Teedyuscung was baptized at Gnadenhuetten on the 12th of March, 1750, when he received the name Gideon. The transaction is thus described by Reichel, in his usual charming style: "He was baptized in the little turreted chapel on the Mahoning, Bishop Cammerhoff administering the rite. The ceremony was performed in accordance with the solemn ritual observed among the Brethren at that time in the baptism of adults, and when the straight-limbed Delaware, robed in white, arose from bended knee, he rose as Gideon, the namesake of that son of Joash who threshed wheat in the wine-press to hide it from the Midianites." Viewing the occurrence from the standpoint of the writer, and in the light of the convert's subsequent career, it seems a pity to waste any fine writing on such a subject. Bishop Cammerhoff tersely describes it thus: "*Heute taufte ich Tatiuskundt, ein kar' εξοχην grosser Sünder.*" (Today I baptized Teedyuscung, a pre-eminently great sinner.) By this term the enthusiastic young Bishop of course referred to his previous career. He anticipated, from his hypocritical professions, that he would henceforth go to and fro among the converts as a pre-eminent Indian saint. But the expectation was not realized. He remained "*ein kar' εξοχην grosser Sünder,*" an unmitigated scoundrel, and did his full share of what led to the decline of the promising work of the Indian Mission. He came to a shocking end. He was burnt to death in 1763, while asleep in a drunken stupor in his lodge at Wyoming.

The other sons of old Captain Harris do not figure as prominently as Teedyuscung in our early annals, but several of them gave plenty of trouble to the Brethren, notably the second, Captain John. He was the chief of a Delaware village situated only a furlong to the south of this spot, near the intersection of Belvidere and Whitefield Streets. Like his brothers, he was forever raking up old grievances against the whites for their alleged robbery of the red men, and although there may have been some justice in their complaints of fraudulent treatment, as in the case of the Walking Purchase, none of them had any cause for dissatisfaction with the Brethren, who had scrupulously fulfilled all their obligations and promises to the Indians.

When the tract constituting the Barony of Nazareth came into the possession of the Brethren, Captain John insisted on remaining in his settlement, and as he could put in no valid claim to any title in the ground he occupied, he contended that the improvements he had made on it justified him in demanding a price for the land. To get rid of him, the Brethren finally agreed to indemnify him for his so-called improvements, and he retired with his followers from the vicinity, growling as he went.

Of Sam Evans, another son of Captain Harris, it is significantly recorded in the Diary of Wechquetank that, when he visited some relatives connected with the mission, it was necessary to make a careful investigation lest rum should have been smuggled into the village; and here and there we meet with notices of other sons of Captain Harris that are anything but flattering.

The account of this disreputable family has been introduced here simply because Wechquetank had once been its headquarters. When Zinzendorf and his company passed the night there he little dreamed of the trouble that would accrue to the Mission from Captain Harris' disgruntled progeny.

The next period in the history of Wechquetank begins in the year 1750. At that time some members of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia purchased land in the valley in which it is situated, and at least two of these, Frederick Hoeth and Philip Serfass, soon after removed thither with their families. The tracts purchased by Hoeth contained over 1,300 acres, and the smaller tract of Serfass lay not far away. Hoeth seems to have been an enterprising man and possessed of moderate means. Besides his own dwelling and barns, he erected a grist and saw-mill and a blacksmith shop, which were operated by employes occupying separate dwellings near his own. The Wechquetank, or Pohopoko, Creek, which furnished the water-power for his mill, began to be called by his name, and is known as Hoeth's Creek to this day.

When these Philadelphia Moravians first conceived the project of taking up land beyond the Blue Mountain, their design was severely discountenanced by the authorities of the congregation, who ascribed it to worldliness and the unhappy desire

of becoming rich and great, and a disagreement ensued which, according to one historian, for awhile even threatened a disruption of the congregation. Hoeth seems to have been in specially bad odor, and was denounced as the "first contriver and chief promoter of the scheme" by the then pastor, who records his grief that Hoeth and the other brethren "who are possessed with the *land spirit* get together in the hall before service begins and talk about their land." Unfavorably as Hoeth was regarded for a season, the displeasure of the authorities was allayed by and by, and when he finally set out with his family on the 13th of November, 1750, to occupy his tract on the Pohopoko, it was, so to speak, with the benediction of the church, for, on the previous Sunday, he was permitted to give a farewell lovefeast to the whole congregation. In justice to Hoeth, it should be stated that this happy outcome of his disagreement with the church authorities in Philadelphia is not the only indication that the latter may have been mistaken in their estimate of his character and motives, for his daughter Marianna, in her autobiography, describes him as a pious and God-fearing man, whose concern for the spiritual welfare of his family first induced him to emigrate to America, and explicitly states that it was the same pious solicitude that led him to seek a home in the wilderness, where his children should be removed from the temptation and allurement of the world, from which he found they were not safe even in Philadelphia.

Nor was Hoeth and his family lost sight of by the Brethren after his emigration to Wechquetank. The region was familiar to them, for they often traversed it on their missionary expeditions to the Indians dwelling thereabouts and beyond. Indeed, only five miles south of it was Meniogomeka, where for six years they preached the gospel to the Indians and founded a flourishing mission which, however, was broken up when, in 1755, the alleged owner of the land insisted on the removal of the converts, who were accordingly transferred to Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning. Now that Hoeth's little settlement was established at Wechquetank, the itinerants of the Brethren frequently called there and ministered to them in spiritual things. In 1753, Christian Boemper, of Bethlehem, married a daughter of Hoeth, and, the same year, settled on his tract of over 500 acres, his house being about half a mile distant from that of his father-in-law; and, in 1754, Philip Serfass, with his family, came

up from Philadelphia and established his home near by; so that, when the Brethren visited there, they found quite a little company of their own household of faith to welcome them and receive their ministrations; and but for the brutal warfare soon to be waged against all the dwellers in the peaceful valley under the direction of Teedyuscung, *the humble convert* of five years ago, the settlement might, in the course of time, have become a center of Christian influence and activity. But this was not to be. On the 10th of December, 1755, a little more than a fortnight after the massacre at Gnadenhuetten, a band of marauding fiends surprised the dwellers on Hoeth's plantation at the time of the evening meal. In the first rush on the house they shot down Hoeth, who had always been the friend of their race, and had always treated them with kindness and hospitality; shot down and brutally mutilated his wife, who vainly tried to escape into the forest; shot down his little daughter toddling by her side; killed another girl and two unarmed men whose names have been lost; and then made off with Hoeth's remaining three daughters and the wife and two daughters of the blacksmith Heiss, before the *men* on the settlement and in the neighborhood could lay hold of their weapons and rally to oppose them. In their haste to avoid meeting foes on an equal footing, they did not fail, however, to set fire to all the buildings on the place, and also to Boemper's house, the inmates of which had meanwhile made their escape. As trophies of their intrepid bravery these noble red men carried off from this raid six scalps of six captives, and they lost but one of their number, shot by Heiss the blacksmith, who only failed for want of ammunition to send more of them to their happy hunting grounds.

Christian Boemper fled with his family to Bethlehem, and Philip Serfass and his family found safety in Nazareth, where he remained until the following Spring. The former, Boemper, however, soon after shared the fate of his father-in-law. He set out with a party of refugees under military escort, in January, 1756, to look after their farms and cattle, and was killed near the ruins of the mill by a party of Indians lurking in the neighborhood. The Serfass family, therefore, so far as we know, were the only members of the Church left in the neighborhood. Serfass died on his farm in 1786. His descendants are numerous, but we are not aware that any of them are now connected with the Moravian Church.

While the Brethren still continued to visit this family and such other settlers in the valley, otherwise destitute of the means of grace, as were glad to receive the bread of life which they dispensed, this savage raid put an end to any design that may have been entertained of making more permanent provision for the spiritual needs of the white inhabitants of the region. For four or five years the charred ruins of Boemper's home and of Hoeth's houses and mills and other buildings lay undisturbed, and their cleared and cultivated acres were overgrown with weeds and brambles. But not as yet was the spot destined to remain desolate, or to pass entirely into the hands of strangers. For a few years at least the name of the Redeemer was to be proclaimed and the blessings of His gospel dispensed, not as hitherto at long intervals only to the whites, but to a little band of red men who had elsewhere received and accepted the divine message and invitation brought them by the Moravian missionaries, and who here found a home and refuge, until they were again driven off, not as from Gnadenhuettten, by the allies of Teedyuscung, but by prejudiced and infuriated whites, who with singular blindness and obstinacy failed to discern between the good and the bad, and, on the principle that the only good Indian is a dead Indian, were bent on massacring every man, woman and child of the harmless and inoffensive band.

The third period of the history of Wechquetank begins in 1760. Early in that year it was determined to establish a settlement for a portion of the Indian converts who, after the destruction of Gnadenhuettten on the Mahoning, had been provided for in the neighborhood of Bethlehem and Nazareth, and the lands of Hoeth and Boemper at Wechquetank were deemed a suitable place for this purpose. They were accordingly purchased by the Church from the administrator of both estates, after having been inspected by Matthew Schropp and George Klein. The two tracts together contained nearly 1,400 acres.

Just why the Brethren determined to establish the mission station at Wechquetank the writer has not been able to ascertain. The number of its inhabitants never exceeded thirty-five or forty, and it would seem as if so small a company might have been cared for with less trouble and expense at Nain, near Bethlehem, where the other refugees dwelt, than at a point nearly thirty miles distant. There is no record in the rather

voluminous diary kept by the missionaries in charge, of any efforts to reach other Indians as yet un-Christianized, to indicate that Wechquetank was to be a starting point, or a sort of outpost in their plan of campaign. The Bethlehem diary states that upwards of thirty Indians from Nain were to be colonized there, while Heckewelder declares explicitly that the Wechquetank station was established for the accommodation of those Indian refugees who had, up to this time, been quartered at Gnadenthal, near Nazareth. According to Heckewelder, the Indians who occupied Nain were all of the Mohican tribe, while those quartered at Gnadenthal were Delawares and Monseys, and the latter were not so far advanced in husbandry as the former, who had been the first converts, although not inferior to them in moral character. Possibly tribal peculiarities and differences may have made the separation desirable.

Whatever may have been the reasons for establishing the station at Wechquetank, all the arrangements for its settlement were completed in April, 1760. On the 24th of that month the missionaries Joachim Senseman and John Joseph Bull, otherwise called Shebosh, set out from Nain for Christianspring, where they received their final instructions from Bro. Peter Boehler, and then proceeded on their way with their company of Indians, camping that night at the Rose Tavern. Towards evening the next day they reached Wechquetank. The Indians prepared to spend the night along one of the fences left standing on Hoeth's place, while the missionaries went on a little farther to Boemper's plantation, where they put up their horses, part of the stable, with the crib, having escaped destruction at the time of the raid. Before lying down to rest, Bro. Senseman held a short service, in which he discoursed of the nearness of the Saviour to every soul that earnestly desires His presence, and wished for the members of the little flock such a sincere and constant longing as would always keep them in communion with Him. The Indian brethren made arrangements to set out early the next morning on a hunting expedition and then all lay down to sleep. The hunt was successful, for the Indians returned from it early in the forenoon with two deer that they had shot, which was sufficient to supply the party with fresh meat for several days. Then all proceeded to erect huts on the site selected by Senseman for the village, which was close by a fine spring. In a few days the dwellings were

ready for occupancy and the place soon assumed the character of a fully organized Moravian mission station. The company that had first come with Senseman and Shebosh appears to have been only the pioneers in the undertaking, for the diary records the arrival of others at intervals during the month of May who were to dwell in Wechquetank. Ground was at once prepared for planting corn and the fences repaired. Up to the end of June the daily morning and evening devotions and the services on Sundays were held in one of the houses, presumably that of the missionaries, but meanwhile preparations were made to provide a larger meeting-house. It was found that the log spring-house on Boemper's place, which had escaped destruction at the time of the raid, would, with some alterations and repairs, answer the purpose. It was accordingly taken down and brought to the village, and after the needed additional lumber had been prepared, was set up during the month of June, the dedication taking place on the 26th. The service was held by Bro. Martin Mack, who had arrived with his wife the evening before.

Previous to this a more important official visit had taken place. On the 13th of June, Bishop Spangenberg and Bro. John J. Schmick arrived, accompanied by their wives. The visit was partly one of inspection, but it was also the occasion of the first celebration of the Lord's Supper at Wechquetank. After the party had been heartily welcomed by the missionaries and the Indians, they set out to view the land, Senseman first pointing out the spot on which the "Gemeinhaus" was to be built in the course of time. They were then conducted to the ruins of Hoeth's house and mill, the scene of the massacre in 1755, and a little farther on to the place that had been selected for the graveyard. Bishop Spangenberg was pleased with this spot, and suggested that it would have been better to have built the village there than on the low ground it now occupied. They then proceeded to the Boemper place, which site pleased Spangenberg best of all. We may remark, in passing, that the Bishop's practical good sense stands out here as usual. Visitors to the site of Wechquetank cannot help wondering why one of the lowest, if not the very lowest portions of the large tract should have been taken for the settlement, when there were better sites close by. The proximity of the spring, and the fact

that most of the land was already cleared may have influenced Senseman in its selection, but there was also a spring on the Boemper tract, else there would have been no spring-house there. The precise location of the latter has not been ascertained, but as it lay to the north, in which direction the land gradually rises, it must have been on higher ground.

After returning to the village, Spangenberg held the evening service, and the visitors then retired to their little tent, which had been pitched on the village square. The following day was a high day. The "*Morgen Segen*" was held by Bro. Schmick. Then followed the "speaking meetings," first with the brethren and then with the sisters, after which there were two lovefeasts, one for the adults and one for the children. In the public service that followed, Spangenberg delivered an edifying discourse, and then solemnly received into church fellowship the widow Emmy, who was the half-sister of Teedyuscung, and in a fervent prayer commended her to the Saviour's special care and keeping. Finally the communicants gathered around the Lord's table to celebrate His Supper. The next morning (Sunday) Schmick held the morning prayer, and then, in a meeting of all the adult members of the congregation, Spangenberg spoke very earnestly of the design of the settlement, and exhorted them to be faithful and obedient followers of the Saviour. After another special service of the married people, also held by Spangenberg, the visitors took an affectionate leave of the congregation, and set out for Nazareth.

The next official visitation at Wechquetank was in connection with the dedication of the graveyard, and the first interment made in it. As the circumstances attending this first death that occurred constitute one of the few more exciting episodes that are recorded in the diary of the missionaries, they are herewith recited in detail. The 13-year-old son of Tobias became very ill about the middle of July, 1760. Tobias seems to have been something of a black sheep, or at least a frequent wanderer from the fold, and was consequently in bad odor with the missionaries. Now that he feared his son might die, he desired that he should be baptized. As the missionaries did not think that the child's end was as near as the father apprehended, and feared that, in the event of his recovery, his father would take him away from the settlement and allow him to lapse into his own disreputable mode of life, they did not at once accede to his request, and

referred the case to the authorities at Bethlehem. Meanwhile Tobias had, by the gift of a rifle, induced an Indian powwow doctor to come to Wechquetank to treat the sick boy, much to the disgust of the missionaries and of the patient himself, who begged that he might be removed to another hut where he could not be reached by the Indian doctor with his incantations. On the 21st of July, the Indian doctor, despairing of effecting a cure, and apparently conscience stricken for the fraud he had been practicing, returned Tobias' rifle, saying: "I cannot cure your son, for his heart is in the little chapel yonder, and I cannot exercise my power here. In fact, I did not come here to practice my profession, but because I wished to be near the Brethren, and if it had not been for a bit of rum that went to my head at the time I would not have undertaken the case. And now that I have been powwowing in their very presence, I am ashamed to go to the Brethren." The next day the boy grew worse, and in his delirium incessantly begged those who were about him to let him go to the children's service in the chapel and would not be convinced or consoled when assured that no service was being held. During the night, between 12 and 1 o'clock, Tobias sent a messenger to Bro. Senseman, begging forgiveness for his folly in engaging the powwow doctor, and entreating him to have pity on the child and come and baptize him. Senseman hesitated at first, having had no reply from the brethren at Bethlehem, to whom he had referred the case, but learning that the boy could not possibly recover, he decided to grant the distracted father's request. In the dead of night the communicant members of the little congregation were awakened and summoned to Tobias' house, and in their presence the sacred rite was administered. The child received the name of Tobias. He rallied somewhat after his baptism, and in faltering words spoke of the joy and peace with which the Saviour filled his heart. The father wept freely during the whole transaction. During the following days the child gradually grew weaker, until the forenoon of Saturday, the 27th, when he peacefully fell asleep while Bro. Senseman was imparting the last blessing.

And now that it became necessary to make arrangements for the first funeral at Wechquetank, the same want of practical aptitude that had been displayed in the selection of the site of the village again became apparent. It would seem a simple

matter to decide how the graveyard should be laid out and to select the spot for Tobias' grave accordingly, but the missionaries did not feel equal to the task and forthwith proceeded to send an express messenger all the way to Bethlehem to Bishop Spangenberg and Bro. Schmick, nearly thirty miles distant, with a letter detailing all the circumstances of little Tobias' baptism and death, and explaining that, as there *was no compass at Wechquetank*, they were at a loss how to lay out the graveyard, and suggesting that Bro. Golkowsky, the noted surveyor, be dispatched at once with his instruments to mark off the ground, and some other suitable brother to preside at its dedication, and expressing the greatest concern lest, in the event of no one coming, they would have to do as best they could without any help! In response to this missive, there arrived on the following evening, not a corps of surveyors and a company of church dignitaries such as the missionaries, in their perturbed state of mind, imagined would be required for the contingency, but only one brother, Gottlieb Petzold, who, however, in his own person combined the dignities of the "Oeconomus," or Superintendent of all the Single Brethren in America, and the "locum tenens," or substitute, in various conferences, of Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, who was absent on official business in Europe.

If Petzold brought a compass with him it is not mentioned in the diary, but with or without it, he proved equal to the commission with which he had been entrusted, for on Tuesday, the 29th, he and the other brethren staked off the graveyard and determined where the grave of little Tobias should be located, which was accordingly dug at once. Towards evening the dedication and funeral took place. There was a short service in the chapel, after which the body was carried to the graveyard by four Indian brethren. Here a hymn was sung and Bro. Gottlieb delivered a short address, setting forth that as the Saviour had sanctified the whole earth by His blood, they were assembled on this spot to pray that He might bless it and consecrate it in a special manner. Then all knelt in prayer, after which the body was interred with the usual ceremonies.

There were but four deaths at Wechquetank during the existence of the mission there, viz.: that of Tobias, just mentioned; Abraham, aged 4, who died, February 28, 1762; his mother, Beata, who died a week later, and Dorothea, aged 10, who died,

November 26th the same year. The remains of these four are the only remains of Indian converts that lie, awaiting the Resurrection, in the little piece of land so solemnly dedicated. The diary tells us that on every Easter morning the early services were regularly held, first in the chapel and then in the graveyard, as is done in our churches to this day. When we picture to ourselves the little procession of the brown brethren and sisters traversing the quarter mile that lay between the village and this resting place of their loved ones who had fallen asleep in Jesus, and in communion with their fellow-believers in various parts of the world, strengthening their faith and hope and joy in Him who is the Resurrection and the Life, the spot appeals to us as one that should ever be preserved and venerated.

While on the subject of the graveyard, it may be mentioned that after Wechquetank was abandoned in 1763, it continued to be used as a place of burial by the settlers in that region, among whom it was known as the "Herrnhuter" graveyard, until well into the first half of this century. Parson Decker, who lived in the neighborhood, speaks of it thus in a communication, dated March 21st, 1848, and published in "*Die Biene*," a bi-weekly paper issued at Bethlehem at that time: "Not far from where Hoeth's house stood lies the old graveyard, which, alas, is in the same neglected condition as that at Gnadenhuetten and many other graveyards of the Brethren. Fences are tumbling down, thorns and thistles overgrow the graves, and cattle wander about therein at will. * * * About six years ago I buried the aged widow of George Huth in the old Herrnhuter graveyard." She was the sister-in-law of that Adam Huth who lost an arm in the fight with the Indians near Hoeth's mill when Christian Boemper was killed, and who afterwards lived many years at Christianspring. This was probably the last burial made on the spot.

To return to the story of Wechquetank as a mission station. Up to the few last days of its existence as such, it contains nothing of startling or exciting interest. The first missionary in charge was Joachim Senseman; and John Joseph Shebosh, who was appointed warden, and his Indian wife, Christiana, were his principal assistants. The native helper, Anton, also held the shorter services, and even preached occasionally. Besides the regular preaching service on Sunday, morning and evening

services (*Morgen und Abend-Segen*) were held every day in the week, together with special meetings for the adults and the children. Festival days were generally observed. When the Lord's Supper was celebrated it frequently happened that officials from Bethlehem or Nazareth came to assist the missionary in charge. During the Passion Week the "Acts of the Last Days of the Son of Man" were read every day, and, as has already been stated, the characteristic early service was held on Easter Morning. On Christmas Eve there were vigils with lovefeasts, first in the early evening, for the children, when they received tapers, and later for the adults, and on Christmas Day there was a preaching service. On New Year's Eve a lovefeast preceded the watchnight service, and on the first day of the New Year the whole congregation met in the chapel in the forenoon and evening. Even Epiphany was duly observed.

About four months after the beginning of the mission Bro. Senseman's health failed, and he was temporarily relieved by Frederic Post until, in October, 1860, Bro. Bernhard Adam Grube took his place, and the latter presided over the mission until it was abandoned three years later. Grube and his wife arrived on the 18th of October. They were both devoted to their work, and the diary constitutes a touching record of self-denying labors, attended sometimes with most discouraging experiences of obduracy, indifference and backsliding on the part of the portions of the flock, but also with many evidences of the power of the Gospel and of the divine favor and blessing attending their work.

One memorable feature of Grube's activity at Wechquetank is the translation of the "Harmony of the Four Gospels" into the Delaware Indian language, which he made while stationed there. Eight years before when, at Meniolagomeka, he was confined to his couch by a severe accident, he had begun the systematic study of the language and had by this time become so proficient that he often preached to the Indians in their own tongue, and translated the hymns they were fond of singing. He spent many weary hours and consumed much midnight oil (or, strictly speaking, venison tallow) in this work, in which he was faithfully assisted by the native helper, Anton. As portions of it were completed, the manuscript was carried by messenger to Friendensthal near Nazareth, where it was printed by Bro. Brandmueller on the press which the Brethren had set up in

the second story of the mill, the proof-sheets being sent back all the way to Wechquetank for correction. It was at this time also that Grube's "Essay of a Delaware Indian Hymn Book" was printed at Friedensthal.

The occupancy of Wechquetank by the Brethren and their Indian converts was not of very long duration. They were obliged to withdraw from it by the reopening of hostilities in 1763, only three and a half years after the station was begun. The story of its final abandonment is told in detail by de Schweinitz, who appears to have had access to sources of information not available to this writer, who therefore quotes largely and almost verbatim from his account as given in "The Life and Times of David Zeisberger."

At this time the Indians both at Wechquetank and Nain were in no little danger. Exasperated by the many and cruel massacres that occurred, the inhabitants of the frontier counties breathed vengeance against the "Moravian Indians," as the converts were called, whom they accused of being in league with the savages. On the twenty-second of July the converts sent an address to the Governor, claiming his protection, which he promised them. At the same time, as they would be liable to great danger from the scouting-parties, it would be necessary for him to send out, he suggested to Squire Horsfield, that "some visible apparent badge of distinction should be agreed on, by which they might be known to be friends." In accordance with this suggestion, Horsfield drew up eight articles, describing their appearance, regulating their conduct when meeting white men, and calling both upon soldiers and civilians "not to upbraid these Indians with the acts of other Indians, not spitefully to treat them, nor to threaten to shoot them." These articles, having been approved at Nain and Wechquetank, were communicated to the Governor, and made known among the settlers.

The description of the Christian Indians was as follows: "They are always clothed. They are never painted, and wear no feathers, but hats or caps. They let their hair grow naturally. They carry their guns on their shoulders, with the shaft upwards." The rule to be observed by them when meeting a white man was this: "They will call to him, salute him, and coming near, will carry their guns either reversed or on the shoulder." "Lastly, they intend, when they go out hunting, to

get a pass of Mr. Timothy Horsfield, if he be at home, or else of their ministers, Mr. John Jacob Schmick, at Nain, or Mr. Bernhard Adam Grube, at Wechquetank." That the Christian Indians meekly submitted to such restrictions, so galling to the pride of their race, is one of the many evidences of the great change wrought in them through the power of the Gospel.

For several weeks after the issuing of the articles, they remained undisturbed. But in the night of the 20th of August, an event occurred which was the beginning of their troubles. Zacharias, his wife and little child, and Zipora, all Christian Indians on their way from Wechquetank to a village on the Susquehanna named Long Island, were tranquilly sleeping in a barn on the Buchcabucka (Pohopoko) Creek, relying for protection upon Captain Jacob Wetterhold and his company, who happened to be quartered at the same place; when suddenly these very protectors, who had been drinking hard, fell upon and murdered them all, not sparing even the mother and her child, although she kneeled at their feet, in an agony, and besought them to have mercy. That this base act would excite the vengeance of Zacharias' four brothers, who lived at Wechquetank, was the prevailing opinion. Hence, the militia hastened to anticipate the expected retaliation, and three several parties appeared at Wechquetank to destroy the village. It was with the utmost difficulty, and only by appealing to the pledge of protection received from the Governor, and at last, by threatening to report Captain Wetherold to the Governor, his Commander-in-Chief, that the missionaries averted an assault.

But, although Wetterold and his troops had nothing to fear from the Wechquetank Indians, other avengers were on their track. Early in the morning of the 8th of October, while the militia were encamped on John Stinton's farm in the Irish Settlement, the savages surprised them, killed Stinton and several of the soldiers, and mortally wounded Wetterold, who died the next day. A storm of indignation swept over Northampton County. Many of its inhabitants, indeed, thought only of their own safety, and, excited by the most extravagant rumors, flocked to Bethlehem for protection. But a body of militia hastened to Wechquetank to massacre the whole congregation, and were prevented from carrying out their purpose only by the most earnest persuasions of Grube, who, at midnight of the day of the murder, had received an express from

the Board informing him of the catastrophe, and advising immediate measures for the safety of his people. * * * Grube and his converts, accordingly, fled to Nazareth, leaving their village and stores of corn to the mercy of their enemies. At Nazareth they were cared for until early in November, when they joined the Nain Indians at Bethlehem and proceeded with them to Philadelphia, as had been decreed by the Governor and his Council. Their subsequent fortunes, from the removal to Philadelphia to their final settlement at Wyalusing, have been too often told to need repetition here.

How entirely innocent of complicity with the hostile Indians the converts at Wechquetank were, appears from the following extract from the diary of Bethlehem:

Oct. 19. (1763) "A petition to the Governor at Philadelphia was taken through here from the people living near Wechquetank, beyond the Blue Mountain, in which they very greatly deplored the removal of the Indians from Wechquetank, inasmuch as those same Indians had hitherto been their only security, they having put more reliance on them than on a few soldiers; and praying the Governor, therefore, to either have the aforesaid Indians return to their former place, if possible, or send an adequate force for their protection, (that is the protection of the settlers,) without which they could not consider themselves any longer safe at their places."

Not long after the flight of the converts, the village of Wechquetank was fired and destroyed. Remains of the village were still found as recently as fifty years ago. In Parson Decker's communication printed in "*Die Biene*," above alluded to, he writes: "The land on which the town stood is in the possession of William Kresge, Sr., who is now (1848) 70 years old, and who pulled down the charred logs of the church and other buildings, of which remnants are still to be found, and dug out and carted away the stones of the foundation. In ploughing the land he has also found many things that had belonged to the old Herrnhuters, such as entire stoveplates, and only this summer he unearthed a blacksmith's hammer."

The land belonging to the church was used, later on, for pasturing the cattle belonging to the farm at Christianspring, during the summer season, until about the beginning of this century, when it was cut up into farms and sold. *And with it was sold the graveyard that had been set apart and solemnly conse-*

crated to be the resting place, until the resurrection, of the brown hearts that fell asleep in Jesus.

Which circumstance constrains the writer to make a few remarks, as it were *sotto voce*, and in the nature of a whispered "aside," only to this select audience. They must not be given to the world, or, if printed at all, must be preceded by the portentous words: "*Als manuscript gedruckt,*" which means, sometimes, "Tell it not in Gath!"

The Moravian Church, and the members of the Moravian Church, are blessed or burdened, as the case may be, with reputations of various sorts and degrees, good and bad, merited and undeserved, for sundry traits, amiable and praiseworthy, or otherwise, that they are supposed to possess. Among these is the reputation for pious regard and reverent care of the spots solemnly set apart and dedicated as the resting place of their dead. This characteristic Moravian trait has been celebrated in song and story, varying considerably, it may be added, in the matter of truthfulness and of literary excellence. It is no more than right that we should occasionally take time to bask in the sunshine of such praise and adulation, and complacently contemplate some of the facts upon which they are based.

On the south side of the Lehigh at Bethlehem, not far from the old bridge, there lies such a consecrated spot. When it was no longer needed for burial purposes, it was made picturesque by a rich growth of briars and brambles, and a romantic interest was added to it by carefully allowing all boundary marks to decay or be removed so that in the course of time its precise location became unknown. Then the Philistines invaded that region, clad in the invulnerable armor of Progress, and with their irresistible weapons of gold and silver and paper currency, they wrested it from the pious keeping of the spiritual brethren and descendants of those that lie there awaiting the Resurrection. Forced thus to yield it into the hands of the invading stranger, it was not, however, abandoned to utter forgetfulness and neglect. For many years two venerable Vice-Presidents of the Moravian Historical Society have held the commission to sacredly guard the place, and there is hardly a day in the year but what they may be found on their respective perches in apartments nearby, and, for all we know, over the very site, diligently engaged in this pious occupation, while they incidentally attend to such other avocations as the manufacture

and sale, to the nations of the world, of 18-inch guns and impenetrable armor plates.

A little more than a mile to the west of the place where we are assembled, rest the mortal remains of all the brethren, sisters and children, 66 in number, who died in the various settlements on the Barony of Nazareth between the years 1743 and 1756. It lies on the highest point in the Barony, ascertained to be such, tradition says, by Captain Garrison, who came up from Bethlehem with his surveying instruments to mark it off. It is consecrated ground in a double sense, being dedicated with solemn services when the first interment was made, and then by the successive pilgrimages made from Friedenthal, The Rose, Ephrata, Old Nazareth, Gnadenhal and Christianspring, as one after another of the pioneers departed this life. When, in 1756, it was abandoned and the present cemetery of Nazareth was laid out, it remained in the possession of the Brethren for many years, and tender provision was made to prevent its desecration by the plough and harrow of the husbandman. The soil in that locality abounds in fragments of quartz, and as these were turned up by the ploughshare in the adjoining fields, they were carefully gathered together, carted to the old cemetery and dumped over the graves, thus, in the course of time, not only forming a memorial mound, but also a harbor for snakes and hornets and yellow-jackets, which effectually kept away profane and idle intruders. Later on, this consecrated resting place of 66 Moravian brethren and sisters and children was likewise captured by the stranger, and when he threatened to remove the memorial mound of quartz and till the ground so that his children and dependents might have corn and rye and buckwheat to eat and be filled, then the Moravian Historical Society put forth its strength in the shape of paper currency, (for this was in the days after the war and before the resumption of specie payments) and took possession of the land to have and to hold it forever.

The history of the graveyard at Wechquetank is similar in almost every particular, except that it is not, as yet, complete; and other instances might be adduced to show how well we Moravians have lived up to our reputation for pious regard and tender care of what one sweet singer has styled our "fair cities of the dead!"

Here endeth the "aside." May it serve to stir us up to renewed activity in the way of rescuing from oblivion the scenes of our spiritual forefathers' labors, and to continue the good work that has resulted thus far in the erection of permanent memorials at Shecomeko, in New York, at Wechquadnach, in Connecticut, at Wyalusing and Nazareth, in Pennsylvania, and at Goshen, in Ohio, and in preparations for similar memorials at Meniolagomeka and Wechquetank in the near future.

After the sale of the land at Wechquetank, the locality seems to have been seldom visited by Moravians, and except to a few historic delvers, its history was unknown. There is a record in the "*Biene*" of a visit made to the neighborhood more than 50 years ago by Dr. (Abraham) Huebener and Squire (Jacob) Wolle, of Bethlehem, during which they killed trout with a bow and arrow in some large ponds to the east of Wechquetank, but the nature of their business there is not mentioned. Some years later Dr. Huebener moved to Effort, situated two miles to the north, and lived there awhile, and about the same time his brother, Heinrich Huebener, who had also moved thither from Bethlehem, engaged in independent home missionary work in that region. It was probably through Dr. Huebener that de Schweinitz and Reichel obtained what information is given in their writings concerning the site of Wechquetank. Marianne Hoeth's narrative, a translation of which was communicated to the Society in a paper read at the annual meeting in 1897, led to inquiries and investigations as to the scene of her story, which resulted in the re-discovery of its precise location, and of the fact, then not generally known, that it was also the site of Wechquetank, and the probable site of Captain Harris' village, where Zinzendorf and his party encamped in 1742.

A year ago, action was taken by our Association to mark the sites both of Wechquetank, and of Meniolagomeka, 5 miles to the south of it. A committee, consisting of the Brethren Frank Kunkel, Abraham S. Schropp, Joseph A. Rice, Eugene Leibert, and G. A. Schneebeli, was appointed to carry out the project, and a report of what has thus far been accomplished by the same is herewith appended.

The sites of both stations were visited in October last. At Meniolagomeka the owner of the land at once agreed to convey to the Society a suitable lot for the erection of a monument on the site of the village. It adjoins the highway leading from Smith's Gap to Kunkletown. The location of the graveyard could only be fixed approximately. Since then a deed in fee simple has been executed for the lot, of which the Society is now the legal owner.

At Wechquetank, the site of the graveyard was first visited. It was pointed out as such by one of the oldest inhabitants, and the location agreed precisely with recorded descriptions of it, and a few minutes' search brought to light fragments of ancient gravestones. It lies on the east bank of the stream, a few yards north of where it empties into the mill-pond. Until quite recently the condition of the spot had remained as described by Parson Decker. Now, however, the briars and brambles have been cleared away, and it is being cultivated along with the rest of the field in which it is situated, and except for the fragments of dressed stones that are occasionally turned up, there is nothing to indicate that it was once a cemetery. On the site of the village, a quarter of a mile to the south, the only vestiges found were the spring and the decayed roots of some of the apple trees that had been planted by the missionaries.

On the occasion of this first visit, the proposition of the Society to mark the spot by the erection of a monument was received by denizens of the place in such a way as to convey the impression that a few perches of land could easily be secured for the purpose, and the committee wended its way homeward with the comfortable feeling that the object of this pilgrimage was in a fair way of accomplishment. In the beginning of November a circular was issued soliciting contribution for the proposed memorial stones, to which gratifying responses have been received, and the Society for Propogating the Gospel among the heathen has kindly appropriated one hundred dollars to add to the amount thus raised; and it is hoped that, ere long, satisfactory arrangements may be made for the erection of the Meniolagomeka monument, and for its dedication with appropriate ceremonies in the spring or early summer of next year.

At Wechquetank, however, the prospect for the *immediate* accomplishment of our project is not so promising, for on a second visit to this place last fall to negotiate for the purchase of

a site for the proposed monument, it was found that a remarkable and unaccountable change had taken place in the attitude of the owners of the land, which, a few weeks before, it had been intimated might be had for the asking, but was now held at the rate of many thousand dollars per acre! This startling rise was recognized as prohibitory by the committee. It staggered even those of its members who reside at Nazareth, where, as is well known by all readers of the newspapers published in the Lehigh Valley, we have become so accustomed to the booming of real estate that the increase over night of several hundred per cent. in the value of a town lot is a mere bagatelle!

It is perhaps not judicious to say more on this point than that the committee has deemed it prudent to drop negotiations for the present, and to leave Wechquetank severely alone for a while. They do not at all entertain the idea that the difficulties which have arisen will be permanent, but feel assured that before very long they will disappear, and that the project of the Society will be welcomed and aided where it is now opposed.

To gain this end, however, it may be necessary (and this statement is again added in the way of a confidential "aside" to this select audience, which is requested to let it go no further, lest it reach the ears of any who may be concerned, whether living or dead) so far as the Wechquetank project is concerned, to entirely reconstruct the committee that has it in charge. Various theories have been suggested to explain the obstacles it has encountered in its negotiations at Wechquetank, all more or less unsatisfactory, until a very simple solution of the mystery gradually unfolded itself through increased familiarity with the facts recited in this narrative, and mainly those relating to old Captain Harris and his boys. The selection of the committee a year ago was innocently made, and yet, if the express purpose of its appointment had been to wound the feelings of the old man, and particularly of his illustrious sons, Teedyuscung and Captain John, it could not have been more appropriately constituted. A glance at its make-up, on the light of what has been recorded in this history, will show that the incursion of such a company, representing such an association as the Moravian Historical Society, was enough to make old Captain Harris turn in his grave, and to summon his spirit and the spirits of his progeny to haunt the locality, and cast such an evil spell over it as to thwart their every undertaking!

Prominent in the committee, both as to activity and stature, (for he towers head and shoulders above the rest) is the man who in his own person stands pre-eminent as the representative of all the hated race who now occupy the possessions and the hunting grounds of Captain Harris and his heirs. He is either descended from, or closely related to, every man, woman and child that inhabit the region on both sides of the Blue Mountain included in the famous walking purchase. If you traverse it in his company, you cannot pass a house or a barn or a village, but what he tells you was built or settled by a grandfather or greatgrandfather, or uncle or great-uncle. He salutes all passers by familiarly, while he explains to you the various degrees of consanguinity by which he is respectively connected with them all!

Moreover, his name is destined to live forever in that region, for only a little south of where Harris dwelt, who has long since been forgotten thereabouts, lies the village of Kunkletown, so called in order to perpetuate the name of his family. Furthermore, it is this man who, for several decades, has practically run the Moravian Historical Society—that obnoxious organization which has unearthed so much that is fatal to the good name of the Harris tribe!

Another member of the committee is a lineal descendant of that Matthew Schropp who, in the early part of 1760, came up from Bethlehem with George Klein, tramping around the Wechquetank lands, and setting up his instruments of brass, and his painted wooden staves, and stretching his chains of iron, preliminary to another transfer by which the alienation of the ground from its rightful owners was to be advanced one step farther. He, too, is an enthusiastic member of the Moravian Historical Society, and one of the strongest backers of every enterprise similar to the one with which it is now engaged.

The presence of the third and fourth members of the committee must be specially obnoxious and insulting to Teedyuscung, who would, if he could, resent their very existence as entirely illogical, for they are the great-great-grandsons of that Nitschmann who was the first to fall when his dauntless warriors massacred the helpless inmates of the Gnadenhuetten mission-house, and fancied that by this act their very names and memories would be blotted out, little dreaming that Nitschmann

had a boy then safe at school at Nazareth Hall, who would leave a numerous progeny to boast of their martyr ancestry. Instead of never having been born, as Teedyuscung intended, one of these spends his Summer leisure near the site of his ancestor's murder, making frequent excursions up the Long Valley, and tramping over Captain Harris's land, and perhaps over his very grave, with perfect impunity, while the other writes flippantly of the whole Harris family and their grievances, and does not hesitate to call its first-born a scoundrel.

But of all the members of this unfortunately constituted committee, there is none who could be regarded with such indignant aversion, especially by Captain John, as the fifth. Having come from beyond the sea in early childhood, his ancestry never collided with the Harrises of Wechquetank. He has, however, come into the possession of the land where Captain John's village stood 160 years ago, which the Captain called Welagameka, but is now known as the intersection of Whitefield and Belvidere Streets. And on this land he has erected mills wherein he manufactures garments, the use of which would have sorely perplexed the squaws and papoosees that once dwelt there. And furthermore, he has not only sinned against good taste, but has shown a contemptuous disregard of the memory of the rightful owners of the soil by giving to his mills the prosaic name of "The Nazareth Manufacturing Company" and putting their product on the market as "Nazareth Waists," instead of using the more poetic and euphonious title of "Welagameka Mills" and "Welagameka Underwear." All that he has ever done to remind the passer-by of the red men's former occupancy of the place has been to erect three statues (made in Germany) on his lawn, fairly well representing the aborigines as to the color of their skin, but entirely inaccurate as to their attire, which he has made to resemble that of the brownies and goblins that inhabit the mountains and caves and forest recesses of his native land.

It is not surprising then, that this committee should have been hampered and opposed in their undertaking when they ventured near the precincts of Captain Harris' village. Perhaps less drastic measures than its dissolution may serve to withstand or allay the restless spirits and their malign influence. The Executive Committee of the society will look into the matter, and will doubtless be able to report, in good time, that

all difficulties have been overcome and that measures for the erection of the Wechquetank monument are fairly under way.

Here endeth the second "aside," and with it end the Chronicles of Wechquetank from the earliest times up to the last great conclave of the Moravian Historical Society held in the nineteenth century.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF NAZARETH RELATING TO THE
INDIAN CONVERTS FROM WECHQUETANK, 1763.

Wednesday, Oct. 12.—In the forenoon Bro. Grube arrived, in advance of his Indians, with whom he had camped over night near Diezens, and we immediately conferred with him regarding their accommodation. He assured us that it was the highest time that they had left Wechquetank, as they were no longer safe there, either from the savages or the whites. Towards noon the Indians came, accompanied by our wagons, which conveyed their effects. They were obliged to leave much of their corn, cattle and implements. The Grubes and their dear, brown flock were lodged in the Widows' House,—the old mothers having vacated the same, day before yesterday, and moved into the Nursery. The single sisters also moved into the Nursery for the sake of greater security.

Monday, Oct. 17.—Early this morning three wagons went to Wechquetank, to fetch the corn and other effects of the Indians, and returned the next day, but were obliged to leave much behind, especially as intelligence was received that the New Englanders, who lived in Wajomick, had nearly all been murdered by the Indians.

Monday, Oct. 24.—Our Indians built themselves a hut behind the former Widows' House, to be occupied by a couple of families.

Saturday, Oct. 29.—The little Indian congregation had a very blessed celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Monday, Oct. 31.—The Brethren, as well as the strangers (fugitives), were busy replacing the palisades.

Monday, Nov. 7.—Yesterday our Indian converts learned that, by order of the government, they were to move to Philadelphia, and today the Sheriff came, with Bro. Horsfield, and brought the order to prepare to set out tomorrow. He also took from them their rifles and tomahawks, to all of which they submitted so peacefully and cheerfully as to excite our admiration, and by their behavior they commended themselves anew to the fraternal regard of the brethren.

Tuesday, Nov. 8.—In the forenoon our Indian brethren and sisters (*Geschwister*) accompanied by Brother and Sister Grube, departed with bag and baggage (*Sack und Pack*) and the white brethren, who, on account of their good behavior and watchfulness, saw them depart with great regret, accompanied them with their blessing.